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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the educational goals in Chile before and after 1973 when the Chilean military led by Pinochet brutally eliminated the democratically elected government of Allende and the Unidad Popular. Reforms were initiated in 1967, 1968, 1969, and 1970, and at the time of the coup, were being implemented in all eight Chilean universities. General goals for the reform of the university were to democratize the universities which were very elitist and to improve university programs, to create new careers, and to conduct research related to such national issues as mining, housing, and food. Within five years the enrollment increased from 9,000 to 33,000 students. To provide some kind of services to the entire population, "season courses" covering every area of study were taught in several parts of the country. Technological Institutes were established. Workers and low-income people were admitted to the universities programs. After the coup, over 700 educators were taken prisoners, the universities were taken over by the military, and practically all the reforms were revoked. For the first time in Chilean history, general admissions to the university decreased. All the programs of workers' education have been eliminated. The Chilean universities have reverted to being colonial universities, equipped with modern methods of repression. However, the universities are not dead and there are signs that universities are beginning to revive. (A footnote indicates that since the date of this talk, repression in Chile has worsened.). (Author/RM)

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COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL GOALS IN CHILE BEFORE AND AFTER 1973

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Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies
Columbia University, New York

Working Paper Series, No. 28

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McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada

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RESUME

L'ORIENTATION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT AU CHILI AVANT ET APRES 1973

Préface

Le 11 septembre 1973, les militaires chiliens faisaient brutalement disparaître le gouvernement élu démocratiquement du président Salvador Allende. Par la suite, des centaines d'étudiants et de professeurs d'université étaient tués, torturés, arrêtés ou expulsés. Le professeur Enrique Kirberg comptait au nombre des éminents professeurs chiliens arrêtés et soumis à des conditions extrêment difficiles dans l'île Dawson.

En tant que participants au comité québécois inter-universitaire de solidarité avec le peuple chilien, nous, membres de l'université McGill, avons lutté pour la libération du professeur Kirberg ainsi que d'autres professeurs, objectif que nous avons atteint en 1975. Le texte qui suit est une version révisée de la conférence donnée par le professeur Kirberg le 23 novembre 1979 au CERD de l'université McGill.

* * *

M. Kirberg rappelle les réformes apportées aux universités chiliennes à la fin des années 1960, et les rattache à la longue tradition des mouvements étudiants en Amérique latine ainsi qu'aux changements survenus dans la situation politique au cours des années soixante. Le mouvement de réforme de l'enseignement se concrétisa sous Salvador Allende: les universités s'écartèrent de leur mode de fonctionnement autocratique, de nouveaux programmes furent établis en fonction des besoins nationaux et locaux, la culture et les arts débordèrent les cadres de l'université, travailleurs et personnes à faible revenu furent encouragés à s'inscrire à l'université.

Ces changements ainsi que d'autres réformes furent cependant abolis après le coup d'Etat de 1973. Face à cette répression, les universités luttèrent pour leur survie et s'efforcèrent de constituer une barrière contre la dictature et une protection de la culture et des droits de l'homme au Chili.

PREFACE

On 11 September 1973, the Chilean military lead by General Augusto Pinochet brutally eliminated the democratically elected government of President Salvador Allende and the Unidad Popular. Subsequent to the events of 11 September hundreds of Chilean university professors and students were killed, tortured, arrested, expelled from their positions or were simply reported missing. Among the many outstanding Chilean academics who were arrested and confined in harsh conditions on Dawson Island as veritable prisoners, was Professor Enrique Kirberg.

Professor Kirberg was at that time one of Chile's foremost educational leaders. For twenty years prior to his election as Principal of the National Technical University in 1968, he was Professor of Engineering. As Principal he opened up the university to those for whom the university had previously been inaccessible. His contribution in educational innovation was enormous.

Shortly after the coup, faculty and students at McGill University came together with members of the other Quebec universities to form the Quebec Inter-University Committee for Solidarity with the Chilean People, in order to condemn the abuses of human and civil rights in Chile under the junta, and to work for the release of the thousands of individuals — workers, students and professionals — illegally imprisoned. True to fascist form, the military junta made the universities a prime target of its repressive acts. As a university-based group we decided that our activities would be most effective if we focused on gaining the release of academics. At that time we knew that Professor Kirberg as well as many other well-known academics — Fernando Flores, José Cademartori, Edgardo Enriquez, Galo Gomez, Sergio Bitar, Clodomiro Almeyda, Jorge Tapia Valdes and Anibal Palma — had all been arrested and confined to prisons.

Our efforts to gain their release joined those of

many distinguished American academics — notably the Presidents of Brandeis (Marver Bernstein), Harvard (Derek Bok) and MIT (Jerome Wiesner) as well as members of the National Academy of Sciences and four Nobel Prize winners. It was with immense relief that we learned of Professor Kirberg's release in 1975.

All of the others were also released at that time or soon after. However, the severe violations of human rights continue to this day. The atrocities of the junta continue to be well documented and condemned by the international community including the General Assembly of the United Nations, and Amnesty International. Disappearances, torture and arbitrary arrests have not stopped, nor must our efforts to isolate and condemn the Chilean junta.

Editor

* * *

Professor Kirberg is currently a senior research associate at the Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies, Columbia University, New York. We welcomed Professor Kirberg to the Centre for Developing-Area Studies, McGill University, on 23 November 1979. The following text is a revised version of the presentation he gave that day.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Dear friends of the Centre for Developing-Area Studies
of McGill University,

Thank you for inviting me to talk with you today. I want to say that I owe a debt of gratitute to this University, to a large group of faculty and students and especially to Ms. Rosalind Boyd, all of whom fought for my release when I was in a concentration camp during 1973, 1974 and 1975. Together with others from around the world, they succeeded in gaining my release from prison and in getting me out of the country to work at Columbia University in New York.

Once more, thank you. I am sure that I will never forget your solidarity and your help.

COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL GOALS IN CHILE BEFORE AND AFTER 1973

To speak of educational goals in Chile before the coup, is to speak mainly of the reform of Chilean universities. Reforms were initiated in 1967, 1968, 1969 and 1970, and at the time of the coup these reforms were being implemented in all eight Chilean universities.

One precedent to the reform in Chile is the long tradition of student movements in Latin America. The first Congress of Latin American students was held in 1908 in Montevideo; it was followed by Congresses in 1910 in Buenos Aires and in 1912 in Lima. The classical movement was that of Cordoba, Argentina in 1918, which produced the famous Declaration or Manifesto of Cordoba, in which the students for the first time stated the main goals of university reform. The ideas of the Declaration are applied even today in universities concerned with reform.[1]

In Chile the first student organization was born in 1906 out of a student movement at the University of Chile. The Chilean organizations have a long tradition of fighting for democracy against dictatorship, and they have fought especially for day-to-day reforms of the university. Thus, when the large reforms came in the 1960s, the shock to Chilean universities was small compared to that at other Latin American universities, since in Chile the tradition of reform was already established.[2]

That is one of the precedents of the reforms in Chilean universities; the events of the 1960s around the world provide another. At that time there were great advances in science and technology, space exploration, computerization and communication, and medicine. There

were important changes in the Catholic Church, especially during and following the papacy of John XXIII, which had important repercussions in the Catholic universities in Latin America.

Moreover, this decade saw the virtual end of colonies. You must realize that in the United Nations in 1960 there were 83 countries; a mere eight years later, 43 more had been admitted, mostly from colonies which had been granted their independence.

At the beginning of the decade, Cuba began building socialism, a fact which also had important repercussions upon the student movement in Latin America, as did the invasion of the Dominican Republic by the American Marines in 1965. The United States experienced the Civil Rights movement, assassinations (the Kennedy brothers and Martin Luther King), and the strong compaign against the war in Vietnam.

All of this had an impact on the youth. There were student movements throughout the world in the 1960s — in France, Germany, Japan, England, the United States, Canada and also in Latin America. The students viewed the universities as being out of step with the developments taking place throughout the world. In 1966 the physicist Oppenheimer said that of all the people who had contributed to the development of science and technology, 93% were still alive.

From the very beginning the universities of Latin America had been class-based educational institutions, created by the Spanish crown for their nobles and gentlemen in the colonies. Even up to the threshold of independence, entrance to the universities required evidence of "racial purity" — no blacks, mulattoes, mestizoes, nor Indians were allowed to enter the universities. Even today, the heritage of colonialism can be felt in some universities in Latin America, which draw less than 8% of their student bodies from the working class. In the National Autonomous University of Mexico, 14% of the students were of working-class origin; at the University of Chile, the figure was only 2.1%. The National Technical University drew 5.4% of its students from the working class when I took over the Presidency, and 30% when I left.[3] And it is not only at

the university level that the class bias is evident, for already at the primary and secondary school levels, distinctions are made among students on the basis of economic factors. In Chile, as in other Latin American countries, the contrast between the number of children entering the educational system and those who achieve a degree is very high. In 1965 in Chile for every 1,000 children entering primary school, only 7 received a university degree.[4] Moreover, the universities in Latin America are usually divorced from national issues. For example, in 1965 the Universidad Central de Venezuela graduated 349 lawyers but only 3 oil engineers. In the Universidad de la Plata, Argentina, there were 19,076 law students but only 1,462 students in veterinary medicine, and this is a country in which livestock is a central product.[5] In general, the universities' career training goals and curriculum choices failed to reflect the important issues of the country.

Finally, I think that the most important precedent to the reforms in Chile was the political and social situation there. There was a strong popular movement in the second half of the 1960s, which had begun a hundred years earlier with the fight of the workers in such critical economic sectors as the saltpeter mining industry, the railways, and among the dock and marine workers. A special situation fostered this movement. In the northern part of Chile in nitrate mines which had begun operation at the end of the last century, there was a strong concentration of miners, sometimes reaching upwards of 60,000 workers. These people had come from the Chilean countryside. Sometimes, because of the international market conditions, the mines were closed, and thousands of workers came back to the central or southern part of the country. They got in touch with countrymen and workers, and because the miners had a long tradition of fighting and organizing, they taught the factory workers and peasants how to fight and organize. All of this contributed to the organization at an early date of mainly working class political parties — the Communist Party (CP), the Socialist Party (SP), and the Radical Party (RP)[6] — and it was under a governmental coalition of these parties, during the Popular Front of 1938-40, that the incorporation of unions into the legal apparatus occurred.[7] These parties, along with the Christian Left and other minor parties, formed the Unidad Popular (UP). The UP succeeded in electing Salvador

Allende, a member of the SP, as President of the Republic in 1970.

In this climate, the reform in Chile was developed. The example of the working class political parties led professors and students to see that only a popular government, not a conservative government, would permit the full realization and development of the university reforms. Thus, even rightist people from inside the university were willing to support Allende, because he declared that he would respect the universities' autonomy and the reforms. He also earned the respect of the universities by promising to give more resources to them.

Although the concept of equality of educational opportunities is regarded as desirable by a majority of the Chilean population, reform movements in education have occurred only at certain critical points in time; for example, in 1906 with the first student organization at the University of Chile, and again in the late 1940s when many schools and faculties at the University of Chile implemented more democratic structures along with new programmes and curricula. In 1964 the Christian Democratic government made educational reform one of its basic strategies for economic and social development.[8] In mid-1967 a strong reform movement broke out at the Catholic University and then spread to other universities. Allende's government greatly expanded educational opportunities and introduced new measures to reduce inequalities.

What were the specific reforms? The most important criticism of the universities was their autocratic method of functioning. Ordinarily the Principal of the university made all the decisions; there was very little participation by the university community. In other areas the Dean was the absolute chief who made or rescinded almost all of the important decisions. The universities were elitist, in the sense that generally the sons of the families of the upper middle class and upper class were sent there, and only rarely did the sons of working class families attend.[9] The absolute lack of democracy in the university structure was a serious problem because in Chile the need was felt for democracy in all areas of life. Chilean schools were like Latin American universities generally, in being outdated and divorced from national issues; moreover, the

students were anxious to change this.

The reform movements at the eight universities in Chile were not all begun at the same time. At the National Technical University (NTU) such a movement had existed for several years, but had been much stronger earlier; the Catholic University of Chile (CUC), a very conservative school, soon was beset by student occupation of the main campus buildings and of the university's television station. There, they broadcast the main demands for reform. I would like to remark that the movements at Chilean universities were peaceful, not violent: usually no furniture was damaged, not one window pane was broken. But these movements were strong at all of the universities and the government of Eduardo Frei was at this time wise enough not to attempt any type of reprisal against the students. The university autonomy guaranteed the inviolability of the buildings of the university, so the police could not intervene. The students were in the schools, but no classes were allowed. The main intention of the students was to discover how to study and how to give substance to the university in the future, that is, how to give substance to the reforms themselves.[10]

Congresses with a wide representation of students, faculty and staff were held at the universities. At the University of Chile they were named *plenarios*. These congresses studied the charters and statutes of the universities in order to condense the goals of the reforms. All the measures were approved by consensus; when there was no consensus, the congresses resorted to a plebiscite of the whole community to decide which proposals to adopt. The student strike lasted three months. At last, after one, or in some cases two years of study, discussion and congresses, the new statutes were ready. The most important universities stated in the first article of their statutes that "the university is the critical conscience of the society," and that in view of this position, the university had important duties toward the society. Further, the university was to reflect national realities and must never again be an isolated community; nonetheless, the university was to maintain and reinforce its own autonomy; and it was to respect ideological pluralism. The democratization of the university was the main concern of the reform. Two kinds of democratization

were involved. The first, *inside* the university, required that the authorities be elected by the whole community. For instance, every member of the university was to vote for the principal of the university. The votes were weighted in such a way that the faculty cast 65% of the ballots, the students 25%, and the non-academic personnel 10%. The same procedure was used in the election of the National Board, which was to make the decisions for the university. Its composition was also 65% faculty, 25% students and 10% non-academic staff. All authorities of the academic departments as well were selected on the basis of elections, which specified the terms of tenure. Decisions were made by the National Board, and the Principal was mandated to apply and develop them.

Democratization *outside* the university was also achieved. It was recognized that making the university more democratic meant allowing more people from working-class and lower-income families into the universities, an accomplishment which I will describe later in this paper.

Another function of the reforms was the improvement of the university program, to create new careers, and to conduct research related to such national issues as mining, housing and food. And finally, the university was extended beyond the campus proper, providing culture and arts for the entire population.

The election of Allende boosted and helped the reform. The government provided more resources to the universities and respected their autonomy. Under Allende the general university enrollment increased by over 90%. (See Table 2, p.12.)

In some universities, reform went deeper than in others. Some of them passed paper statutes while continuing to function largely as they had before; but others, like the University of Concepción, the Universidad del Norte, and especially the National Technical University (NTU), which I led, took the reforms very seriously and — here I speak of the NTU which I know best — tried to move ahead with all the measures of reform that had been approved.

First of all, there was the full participation of students. While I was Principal, the students of the

Student's Federation were among my closest collaborators in directing the university and in dealing with issues which were raised at the university. I have the honour of being the first principal elected in Chile (for which I have paid very dearly, as you well know), and the students played an important role in my election: not only did I receive nearly 80% of the student vote, but students also campaigned on my behalf among the faculty.

The students initiated a program of voluntary work, in which during the summer they went to the countryside, to the mines, to industries; to work with the workers, to teach them, and to learn from them. In the countryside they worked to improve school houses. They were not paid for this work, but rather were given only food and lodging; we tried to instill in the minds of the students that work can be done for the community without payment. We also tried to eliminate the exclusively utilitarian ideas of the students. From the very moment they entered the schools (even the high schools) they were thinking only of the professional societies, or of the careers (and hence, degrees) that they would have to have in order to earn more money. When people with this mentality finish their career training, they have cost the government millions; then they are offered a position in the U.S. or England or some other country and they leave their home taking their knowledge and experience with them. With the program of voluntary work, we were trying to make the students understand that there are other interests, interests which concerned the welfare of the homeland.

In addition to the general goals already described for the reform of the university, we had other special purposes. First of all we tried to widen the university. Every year people who finished high school were candidates to the university, but Chilean universities could accept only 30 to 40% of the candidates. Because the places for students were limited (at the NTU, for example, we had courses with 35 places for students, but for which there were 2,000 applicants), the selection was made not on the basis of which applicants were able to do this or that career; rather, it was merely done to fill the places. We tried to open up more academic space, and in five years the enrollment increased from 9,000 to 33,000 students. Of course, we had a lot of problems in providing teachers.

Sometimes we had to have advanced students teaching less advanced students. I can assure you that the academic standards of the university never fell, because we were very attentive to the problems. We had a special institute for academic improvement (Instituto de Perfeccionamiento Académico) which always worked in delegations to go into the provinces to teach, or to bring professors into Santiago to give courses. We even sent graduate students abroad to obtain advanced degrees (e.g., M.A., Ph.D.), especially to Canada. In Toronto we had at least 300 students or professors all the time because we had a loan of Canadian funds from the Inter-American Development Bank, which required that we spend the money in Canada, and we did it with pleasure. In fact, we were always trying to improve the academic levels of our professors.

Another concern was to provide some kind of services to the entire population. We were a university of, let us say, 20,000; however, the taxpayers of the whole country were giving us money, and we were educating only 20,000 students. We felt we had to do something for the rest of the country. So we started what we called "seasonal" courses in several parts of the country, lasting two or three weeks and covering every area of study — general economics, literature, car mechanics, music and pottery. We taught mathematics to parents of children learning modern mathematics; we even taught mothers how to make clothes for children. There was great enthusiasm for those courses and we reached about 52,000 adult students during the last year of the program. The university also had a chain of radio broadcasting stations throughout the country, with special programs on science courses and selected music. We stimulated the formation of art ensembles, theatres, and choruses. At the NTU we had 16 choruses because, as we said, "a person who sings can't be a bad person". We also published books and magazines and made films.

Because we recognized that the country needed technicians, we planned and implemented the "short careers" or technological courses at NTU. The ratio of engineers to technicians should be 1:4.6 in order to achieve effective development of industry.[11] In Chile we lacked these technicians, because in the past most people had studied far beyond the level necessary for a technician, to the level of, say, a first degree engineer. We instituted

"short careers" courses of five semesters (2½ years) to train technicians in areas which lacked an adequate number of technicians, such as electricity, construction and production control.

We also established Technological Institutes in regions which previously had had no institution of higher education. Families of young people had asked us to set up such institutions in their towns because it was difficult for them to emigrate to larger centers. It was our experience that those youths whose families could afford to send them to cities, never returned to their towns. So we made an effort to use the Technological Institutes, not only to train people in technological careers, but also to form centers of culture and art. Some towns already had a little museum, or a library which was given by the city to the center to initiate cultural activities. These became, in effect, extensions of the major university.

The final, and I think most important reform, was the admission of workers and low-income people and their children to the university programs.

First of all, the NTU signed an agreement with the National Workers Federation (NWF). It was signed in a May Day (1969) meeting attended by 80,000 workers and was intended to provide a viable program for the education of unionists. In addition we established a system of admission quotas for the university: 15% of the university's total admissions were to be from the trade unions, 10% were to be children of workers or peasants, and 5% were for enrollments from evening classes (usually white and blue collar workers). That is, of all applicants to the university, a total of 30% would be admitted from these three areas. Thus the child of a worker, for example, had two means of gaining admission: he could as before be selected from among the entire pool of applicants. But if he had applied and had not been selected, he could apply for special consideration through the system of quotas.

Moreover, we offered scholarships, housing, food, books, etc. to students from working-class families or from families with low incomes. For it was not enough to open the door and invite workers to attend the university. We knew that many would be unable to afford the expenses of

education without our help.

One of the most interesting aspects of our agreements with the trade unions and the business enterprises was that we installed courses of study at the work site: in the mines, in factories, at the docks, in the countryside and the oil fields. In this way, we had direct contact with the workers. But we insisted that workers, like all other students, had to enter the university not "by the windows" but by the door. By this we meant that the requirements of entrance into a program were clearly stated; that is, first a high school degree must be completed and then all eligible high school graduates might equally compete for the available places at the university. We found that many workers interested in applying to the university had in fact finished high school. But many more wished to pursue technological careers, so we established an equivalency program. This program, of two years duration, was approved by the Minister of Education. It allowed the worker who had an incomplete course (high school) to complete basic courses which would prepare him to apply to the university.

In general, we administered 37 university courses at work sites, and almost 5,000 workers took part in the program. The drop-out rate was very low, at least partly because student workers were very supportive of each other. They studied extensively together, frequently at facilities provided by enterprises, and it proved a very pleasant experience for most of them.

In this way, what began as a mere 5.4% of children of workers attending the university, became over 30% of workers and children of workers by 1973. This represents a very important stage in Chilean education, about which I have written a book which will soon be published.[12]

We now reach a sad point in this history — the coup of September 11, 1973. As was clearly stated in the hearings of the U.S. Senate, the coup was strongly supported by multinationals, the CIA, and the Chilean oligarchy. I shall not deal with many aspects of the coup; but I wish to indicate that its meaning was deep and lasting. Not only was Salvador Allende assassinated, but 30,000 people were assassinated as well; 200,000 people passed through

concentration camps and jails; 2,500 persons are known to have "disappeared", some of whom have been found in mass graves; and over 1,000,000 were exiled from the country or compelled to abandon it. After the coup there was torture, terror, and many assassinations of Chileans in other countries, for example in Argentina, Italy, and the U.S.A. There were continuous assaults on culture. Labour rights were eliminated. Freedom of the press was abolished, and newspapers, magazines and radio stations were closed or censored. Human Rights were not respected after the coup; the National Congress was closed and nobody was allowed to elect representatives, or to be elected. The Military Junta has been condemned for six consecutive years by the International community represented by the General Assembly of the UN.[13]

The most severe blows were aimed at the universities. Fascists are traditionally enemies of culture and its institutions; they have denied all academic freedom and the development of culture. The day after the coup, the NTU was surrounded by armed forces with heavy artillery, and was bombarded. The military took 700 of us prisoners; as Principal I was pushed against the wall, and they aimed to fire, but fortunately they changed their minds. I was sent to Dawson Island (near the South Pole) and was imprisoned for two years.

All eight Chilean universities were taken over, and President-delegates were appointed by the military; these were all generals, admirals or colonels. A wave of repression swept over academic life. About 30% of the faculty were fired, most of whom had tenure. Over 10,000 students were expelled, some incarcerated and some assassinated. Those who were expelled could never again enter a Chilean university. Several departments were closed, among them political science, social sciences, journalism and philosophy. Many books were burned according to military instructions. A severe censorship was in effect and some authors were banned.

New requirements were established for university graduation: 90 class hours in courses on Subversion, Political "Deviations", Political and Ideological Aggression, National Defense, and the Junta's doctrine of National Security.

There is military supervision of all Chilean academic life and informants are in the classes and offices of the universities. The remarkable process of expansion of the Chilean educational system has come to a halt since 1974. (See Tables 1 and 2.) For the first time in Chilean history, general admissions to the university decreased.

Practically all of the reforms made in the Chilean universities have been revoked since the coup. The military has eliminated academic freedom and democratization both inside and outside the university. There is no participation from the university community; no political groups are allowed; and the right to free speech and assembly, the right to dissent and to organize have been eliminated.

TABLE 1

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN CHILE
ANNUAL VARIATIONS IN ENROLLMENT (1968-1976)

Government	Year	Secondary Education		Primary and Secondary Education	
		Number of Students	Percent Variation	Students (thousands)	Percent Variation
E. Frei	1968	n.a.	--	2,157.3	7
	1969	n.a.	--	2,245.7	4.1
	1970	232,216	8	2,357.7	5
S. Allende	1971	288,727	24	2,566.2	8.9
	1972	326,743	13	2,671.5	4.1
	1973	362,878	11	2,768.6	3.6
Military Junta	1974	369,954	2	2,785.2	0.6
	1975	364,740	-1.4	2,763.3	-0.8
	1976	375,147	2.8	n.a.	--

n.a. = data not available
Source: Sección Estadística de la Superintendencia de Educación, Ministerio de Educación Pública, Chile.

TABLE 2

TOTAL UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT AND VACANCIES DURING THE FIRST YEAR AT THE CHILEAN UNIVERSITIES (1970-1978)

Government	Year	Total University Enrollment	Percent Variation	Admission Vacancies for First-year Students	Percent Variation
S. Allende	1970	76,979[a]	89.22	18,827[d]	150.78
	1973	145,663[b]		47,214[b]	
Military Junta	1978	130,208[c]	-10.61	32,509[c]	-31.14

a *Antecedentes Estadísticos 1974*, División de Planificación y Estudios, Universidad Técnica del Estado, Santiago, Chile, 1975.
b *Anuario Estadístico*, Consejo de Rectores de Universidades Chilenas, Boletín Informativo #26, Santiago, Chile, 1975.
c *Anuario Estadístico*, Consejo de Rectores de Universidades Chilenas, Boletín Informativo #45, Santiago, Chile, 1978.
d Oficina de Planificación, Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Chile, 1970.

The military junta has reduced the governmental contributions to the universities. As a result, the tuitions have been raised to such an extent that people with low incomes cannot afford university education.

All the programs of workers' education have been eliminated. The junta states that the workers have to work, and so will their sons. The class criteria of the university prevails in the government. All the new branches in provinces have been closed. The extension has been practically abolished.

The Chilean universities have again become elitist universities. In one sentence: they have reverted to

being colonial universities, but equipped with modern methods of repression.

However, the Chilean universities are not dead; they are now beginning to revive. The student movement is forming again, loyal to its traditions. On May Day 1979 the students took to the streets with the workers. There were many detainees, students and workers. At the universities, other students started strikes in solidarity. University authorities expelled and suspended many of those students. But as a result of the struggle the prisoners were released and now they take part in the struggle for the return of the expelled.

Because of the wide appeal and some successes of students, they were allowed to have their own organization. In an election called at the University of Chile with two days' notice, with no time to present candidates, issues or programs, the students were told to "elect" the heads of their schools. The results were as follows: underground opposition political parties, 60% of the vote; Independents (against the military junta), 12%; military junta supporters, 28%. This meant that democratic forces won in 15 schools, tied in one school, and lost in only three.[14] This showed also that the movement was alive and that the students opposed the military authorities. Now the students are pressing for general elections. They have held "days for the democratization of the universities." There was a struggle of young medical doctors in which they protested that positions usually open to doctors were abolished and filled with military personnel. The doctors went on strike and occupied the medical buildings; they were supported by workers and attacked by the police. Ultimately the government was forced to reinstate the doctors' positions.

After sustained pressure from faculties at the universities, some departments were rebuilt and some professors have been reinstated, mainly because the colonels and generals felt that they needed trained faculty to keep a high level of accomplishment and maintain the prestige of the universities. And there are other signs that the universities have been revived in many ways: in December 1978 the Congress of "solid physics" was held in Santiago, at which there were many exiled Chilean

physicists and scientists. The government had to allow the Congress to proceed. But not all meetings are successful; a proposed conference of Chilean writers from around the world was prevented.

Currently, a group of professors from Chile and abroad are preparing a conference of Chilean academics, which we hope will be held inside Chile, and will include academicians from Chile and from all parts of the world. We hope to gather to study "The Present Situation of the Chilean Universities and What Can be Done to Help Them." The momentum for this conference is gathering at universities like Harvard and Columbia, which are ready to support this development. I have spoken with the rector of the University of Quebec, and he indicated his willingness to support the conference. I have met with the Principal of McGill University, who has been informed of our proposal and is willing to speak of our plans. I think it is very important that we are gathering this demonstration of support for the Chilean universities.*

Some international corporations have begun to help with grants for specific programs, sending the money directly to responsible departments or Directors, not to the government, not to the military. This way, we know the money will be spent responsibly on the proper programs.

The problem is now to help the Chilean universities without the assistance or prestige of the military junta. Chilean universities need our help and solidarity. We want them to be alive and vigorous, so that they will be a barrier against the dictatorship, and a defense of the culture and the human rights in Chile.

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* Since the date of this talk, repression in Chile has worsened. 1980 has been a hard year and it was impossible to arrange such a conference. New academicians have been fired, students have been expelled, and recently, all the Principals of the eight Chilean universities have been replaced again by generals and admirals in order to tighten the repression even more. This conference has been postponed so far. — December 1980.

NOTES

1. Liebman, Walker and Glazer, *Latin American University Students* . . . .

2. Bonilla and Glazer, *Student Politics* . . . .

3. Kirberg, *Los Nuevos Profesionales*; also, United Nations, Economic Commission for Latin America, *Education* . . . .

4. Universidad de Chile, Facultad de Filosofía y Educación, Centro de Documentación, *Año Pedagógico 1965*, p. 67.

5. Unión de Universidades de América Latina (UDUAL), *Censo Universitario* . . . .

6. The Radical Party primarily represented a non-clerical segment of the middle class (i.e., white collar bureaucrats). This party, like the French and Italian radical parties, emerged in the last century as "a reaction against oligarchical authoritarianism and in defense of individual liberty" (Gil, *The Political System* . . ., p. 257). M.A. Matta, one of the founders of the Party synthesized Radical aspirations in four points: constitutional reform, non-clerical education, administrative decentralization and electoral freedom (see Edgardo Enríques Froden, ex-principal of the University of Concepción, speech in Caracas). The evolutionary basis of this party defined it as a reform-oriented party (Nef, "Centrist Fragmentation . . .," pp. 98-115). The Radical Party joined forces with the Unidad Popular in 1969 in an effort to introduce structural change, to establish a socialist society, and to struggle for the alliance of the leftist forces (Carlos Morales Abarzia, Radical Convention, 1969, quoted in Enriquez Froden speech, p. 12).

7. Angell, *Politics* . . . .

8. Ministerio de Educación Publica, Comisión de Planeamiento Integral de la Educación, "Algunos antecedentes . . . ."

9. Schiefelbein and McGinn, *El Sistema . . . .*

10. Castillo Velasco and Allard, *Dos Fases . . .*; also, Jorge Baria Selone, "La rebelión universitaria," in *Desafío Juvenil: Mito y Realidad* by J. Baria Serone et el.; Vasconi and Reca, "Movimiento Estudiantil y Crisis en la Universidad de Chile," in *Chile, hoy* by Anibal Pinto et al.

11. Universidad de Chile, Facultad de Ciencias Físicas y Matemáticas, Centro de Planeamiento, *Report.*

12. Kirberg, *Los Nuevos Profesionales.*

13. See the various reports of the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations, 1974-.

14. *Hoy* [Chilean magazine] 101:2-8 (May 1979).

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